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Ruiten, J.T.A.G.M. van

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LIBRI E PROBLEMI

A LITERARY DEPENDENCY OF *JUBILEES* ON *1 ENOCH*?  
A REASSESSMENT OF A THESIS OF J. C. VANDERKAM<sup>1</sup>

J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Groningen*

The *Book of Jubilees* is a rewriting of the biblical books of Genesis and Exodus 1-19. However, there are several deviations from the biblical texts. Sometimes, the author uses other theological texts and traditions. In a limited number of places, he seems to use Enochic texts and traditions (cf. *Jub* 4:15-26; 5:1-10; 7:20-39; 10:1-17) especially with regard to the figure of Enoch and to the story of the Watchers. In his study of 1978 'Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources', VanderKam describes the relationship between *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*.<sup>2</sup> This work influenced his *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*,<sup>3</sup> and formed the base of a chapter about the relation between *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* in his book *Enoch. A Man for All Generations*.<sup>4</sup> VanderKam relies to a certain extent on some of his predecessors, i.e., Charles, Milik and Grelot, but surpasses them in many ways.<sup>5</sup> His inventarization of the parallels between *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* is quite impressive. VanderKam is followed by others.<sup>6</sup> I restrict myself to the parallels mentioned with regard to *Jub* 4:17-25:

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<sup>1</sup> This is a revised and expanded version of the paper I delivered at the 2003 Venice meeting of the Enoch Seminar (1-5 July, 2003) organized by the University of Michigan.

<sup>2</sup> J.C. VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources', *SBLSP* 1 (1978), 229-251 (reprinted in: Idem, *From Revelation to Canon. Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* [JSJSS, 62; Leiden 2000], p. 305-331)

<sup>3</sup> J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, 1984), p. 179-188.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch. A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, South Carolina 1995), p. 110-121

<sup>5</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London, 1902), p. xliv, 36-39, 43-44; P. Grelot, 'La légende d'Enoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible. Origine et signification', *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 46 (1958) 5-26; 181-210; J. T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976).

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch, 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, 2001), p. 71-76.

	References to <i>1 Enoch</i> mentioned in: J. C. VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources', <i>SBLSP</i> 1 (1978), 229-251
<i>Jub</i> 4:17a	- 82:1-3; 92:1 - 81; 82:1-3; 83:1; 94:1 - 82:2-3; 92:1 (cf. <i>4QGen</i> 1 ii. 22-25) - 12:3; 82:1-3; 83:2
<i>Jub</i> 4:17b	- 72-82 - 82:4-9
<i>Jub</i> 4:18	- 80-82 - 81:6; 82:1; 82:4-9 - 93:1-2 ( <i>4QGen</i> <sup>s</sup> 1 iii.18-22)
<i>Jub</i> 4:19	- 83-90 - 92:1 - 91:1 - 93:2 - 93:3; 91:15; 91:17 - 81-82 - 81:2; 81:6; 82:1-3
<i>Jub</i> 4:20	- 85:3
<i>Jub</i> 4:22	- 6-16 - 7:1; 10:11
<i>Jub</i> 4:23-25	- no affinities

Despite his caution and his hesitations, VanderKam concludes that the author of *Jubilees* is dependent on the *text* of *1 Enoch*. He shows that *Jubilees* has knowledge of nearly all existing parts of the book:<sup>7</sup>

<i>1 Enoch</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
<i>Book of Watchers</i> (6-36)	4:15, 21, 22; 5:2,6,7,(9,10); 7:21, (22), 23, 24, 27; 10:1-2
<i>Astrological Book</i> (72-82)	4:17, 18 (?); 7:38-39 (?)
<i>Book of Dreams</i> (83-90)	4:20; 5:(2, 6, 7), 9, 10; 7:(21), 22
<i>Epistle</i> (91-105)	4:17 (?), 18, 19; 7:29; 10:17 (?)

According to VanderKam, the use of all existing parts of *1 Enoch* points to the fact that the *Book of Jubilees* would have been composed after the *Book of Dreams* was written in 164 or 163 BCE.<sup>8</sup> In this paper, I would like to question the literary dependency of *Jubilees* from the *Book of Enoch*. According to my opinion, the dating of the *Book of Dreams* is of no use for the dating of the *Book of Jubilees*, because one cannot prove that the author of *Jubilees* is using the text of the *Book of Dreams*.

In a lot of cases, especially with regard to the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, it

<sup>7</sup> VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 241.

<sup>8</sup> VanderKam, *Enoch. A Man*, p. 117; J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Sheffield 2001), p. 21.

is not clear that the author of *Jubilees* had direct access to the books of Enoch as we have them today. The verbal parallels are very small, often one or two words, which are moreover used in a different syntactical construction, words that often occurs also elsewhere in *1 Enoch* and sometimes even in other works of Second Century Judaism. This is in sharp contrast with the biblical material the author of *Jubilees* is using, and which he often quotes verbatim.

In the case the author of *Jubilees* is using the biblical text, it is quite clear how he is referring to the biblical text, what he omits, adds or modifies.<sup>9</sup> With regard to the Enochic material, however, it is not clear. Parallels in thought or thematic parallels are often quite broad and do not point to a literary dependency in one way or another. In this case, one should decide for a dependency of both from a common tradition. Both *Jubilees* and the later parts of *1 Enoch* might be dependent either on a common text, or on a common (Enoch) tradition. Although it is for sure that the author of *Jubilees* was aware of many of the early traditions which surrounded Enoch, it is impossible to identify the source *Jubilees* is referring to. One can hardly speak about quotations from *1 Enoch* in *Jubilees*. I focus on *Jub* 4:17-25 to illustrate my point.<sup>10</sup>

(1) Although *1 Enoch* mentions in several places that Enoch was able to write,<sup>11</sup> it is nowhere stated that he was the *first* who learned to write, as in *Jub* 4:17. Moreover, the exact wording in *Jubilees* differs from *1 Enoch*. The mention of Enoch as the *first* writer may be a point the author of *Jubilees* himself is making. Because Enoch was the first to write, and because he wrote his teachings in the company of God's angels, the teachings of Enoch transmitted to Noah and other patriarchs would have divine authority.<sup>12</sup> The mention of Enoch as a writer may of course point to a *written* tradition. However, it is not clear to which book(s) the author of *Jubilees* is referring. It is by no way sure that he is referring to the whole composition of *1 Enoch* as we know it.

(2) One may point to the *Epistle of Enoch*, especially to *1 En* 93:1-2, as the background of *Jub* 4:18. In the introduction to the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, Enoch recounts passages from his book to his children. He received his information 'in a vision of heaven, and from the word of the Watchers and holy ones ...' (cf. *4Q212*, III:18-22), just as he received his information in *Jubilees* from the angels (cf. *Jub* 4:18g: 'as we told him'), and in a vision (cf. *Jub* 4:19ab). It is interesting that the heptadic structure of history is also the structural pattern of the *Apocalypse of Weeks* as it is in *Jubilees*. However, the exact wording in *Jubilees* differs from *1 Enoch*. The other astronomical information in *Jub* 4:18 might also refer to several Enochic sources.<sup>13</sup> It is difficult, however, to point to an exact parallel.

(3) The night vision of what had happened and what will happen unto the Day of Judgement (*Jub* 4:19) might refer to the *Book of Dreams* (*1 Enoch* 83-90), which contain two dream visions, one about the past (*1 En* 85:3-88:3), and one about the future (*1 En*

<sup>9</sup> For a study of the biblical background of *Jubilees* 1-10, see J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaevael History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSS, 66; Leiden 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Van Ruiten, *Primaevael History*, p. 165-166.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *1 En* 12:4; 15:1; 17-19; 20-36 (esp. 33:3); 74:2; 81:6; 82:1; 83:2, 10; 92:11; 108:1.

<sup>12</sup> See H. Najman 'Interpretation as Primordial Writing. *Jubilees* and its Authority Conferring Strategies', *JSJ* 30 (1999) 379-410 (esp. 385).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the *Astronomical Book* (*1 En* 72-82), esp. *1 En* 81:6; 82:1, 4-9. See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford 1976), 11; Grélot, 'Hénoch', 484-485.

83:3-5; 89:1-90:39).<sup>14</sup> However, *Jubilees* knows only one vision, and it stops at the judgement, while *1 Enoch* proceeds beyond the judgement.<sup>15</sup>

The wording is also quite different. Beside this, VanderKam points to *1 Enoch* 81-82 (especially *1 En* 81:2),<sup>16</sup> and the *Epistle of Enoch* (especially *1 En* 92:1; 93:2)<sup>17</sup> as the possible backgrounds to *Jub* 4:19. Also here, there are no verbal parallels.

(4) In *Jub* 4:21b, the author seems to betray his knowledge of the cosmological section of the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En* 17-36) where Enoch, in company of the angels, views the heavenly and earthly things when he travels to the furthest end of the world.<sup>18</sup> However, no verbal parallel can be found.

(5) With regard to *Jub* 4:22, one can point to the angelological part of the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En* 6-16),<sup>19</sup> but the exact wording is different.

(6) In *Jub* 4:23-26, *Jubilees* has not very much affinity with *1 Enoch*, which only briefly describes Enoch's translation from earth and the aftermath.<sup>20</sup> They are of some importance for *Jubilees* portrayal of Enoch.

In conclusion, one can say that *Jub* 4:17-26 reveals that the author of *Jubilees* knew much about the Enochic traditions. He is strongly influenced by this material. However, in my opinion, it is not possible to say that *Jubilees* is dependent on the *text* of *1 Enoch*. The wording of the two is too much different.

Also in other passages in the *Book of Jubilees* (5:2, 6, 7, 9, 10; 7:21, 22) that shows, according to VanderKam, influence of the *Book of Dreams*, there seems to be no textual relationship. I refer to *Jub* 5:6-10 which is parallel to *1 Enoch* 88.

One can especially refer to the motifs of the sword and the binding of the angels. However, these elements occurs also in the *Book of Watchers* (esp. *1 En* 10). As far as *Jub* 7:22 is concerned, one could of course relate the mention of the giants, the Naphil and the Elyo, with *1 Enoch* 86-87. However, there is a more close parallel in the *Book of Watchers*, i.e., *1 Enoch* 7:2.<sup>21</sup>

One may conclude that the *Book of Jubilees* has some parallels with the *Book of Dreams*. These parallels, however, do not point to a literary dependency of *Jubilees* on the *Book of Dreams*, but on a common tradition, which is probably to be found in the *Book of Watchers*. It is not valid, therefore, to date *Jubilees* (relatively) after the *Book of Dreams* (i.e. after 164-163 B.C.) on the basis of the literary parallels between these two.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Charles, *Book*, 38; Grelot, 'Hénoch', 485; Milik, *Books*, 45;

<sup>15</sup> VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 234-235.

<sup>16</sup> VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 234-235.

<sup>17</sup> VanderKam, *Enoch. A Man*, 115.

<sup>18</sup> Milik, *Books*, 25; VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 235; —, 'Angel Story', 156. They also point to the influence of *1 Enoch* 72.

<sup>19</sup> See esp. *Jub* 7:1; 10:11. Cf. J. C. VanderKam, 'The Angel Story in the Book of Jubilees', in: E. G. Chazon & M. Stone, *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997* (STDJ, 31; Leiden 1999), 151-170 (esp. 156, 169-170).

<sup>20</sup> VanderKam, 'Enoch Traditions', 235. There is some affinity between *Jub* 4:23-26 and *1 Enoch* 106-107.

<sup>21</sup> This is perhaps the only case in which one could conclude for a dependency of *Jubilees* on *1 Enoch*.

The dating of the *Book of Dreams* is of no use for the dating of the *Book of Jubilees*, and vice versa. One cannot say any longer that it is early *because* it is known to the author of the book of *Jubilees*.